

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7919

FOR WINSTON LORD DIRECTOR S/P FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR EGEN  
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON S/P PAPER - THE CHALLENGE OF THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES: NEW DEMANDS FOR POWER AND PARTICIPATION

REF: DEPT A-3627

1. YOU AND YOUR STAFF ARE TO BE COMMENDED FOR UNDERTAKING AN ASS-  
ESSMENT OF ONE OF THE MOST CRUCIAL AREAS FACING CONTEMPORARY US  
FOREIGN POLICY WHICH HAS BEEN EITHER OVERLOOKED OR GIVEN DESULTORY  
TREATMENT BY THE USG FOR FAR TOO LONG. I FULLY AGREE THAT THE  
QUESTIONS WHICH ARISE WHEN ONE INVESTIGATES THIS COMPLEX OF ISSUES  
ARE FAR EASIER TO POSE THAN TO ANSWER. IT IS IN THE SPIRIT OF  
MUTUAL EFFORT TO FIND THOSE ANSWERS THAT THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS  
ARE OFFERED.

2. WITH REGARD TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER, IT MAY HAVE BEEN  
A MISTAKE TO SEPARATE THE SUBSTANCE OF LDC DEMANDS (WHICH ARE  
ESSENTIALLY ECONOMIC) FROM THE MAIN ANALYSIS. AS THE PAPER  
CANDIDLY RECOGNIZES ON PAGE 83, THE USG HAS NOT YET ARTICULATED,  
MUCH LESS ADOPTED, A SET OF PREMISES FROM WHICH TO BUILD A  
STRATEGY FOR COPING WITH THE DEMANDS OF THE LDC'S. IN THE ABSENCE  
OF THESE PREMISES AND A RESULTANT STRATEGY IT IS EXCEEDINGLY  
DIFFICULT TO PROPOSE A COURSE OF ACTION (OR ALTERNATIVE ACTIONS)  
WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN TO DEFEND US INTERESTS AND PROMOTE US  
GOALS AND OBJECTIVES. IN OTHER WORDS, IT APPEARS RATHER FUTILE  
TO DISCUSS POLITICAL TACTICS UNTIL WE HAVE FIRMLY IN MIND THE  
GOALS AND OBJECTIVES TO BE ACCOMPLISHED, ALTHOUGH I RECOGNIZE  
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THAT AT TIMES WE ARE FORCED TO TEMPORIZE UNTIL WE HAVE BEEN ABLE

TO FORMULATE OUR POSITIONS ON BASIC ISSUES.

3. IN LIGHT OF THE FOREGOING A DIFFERENT APPROACH ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES MIGHT USEFULLY BE CONSIDERED.

A. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ECONOMIC AND RELATED STRUCTURAL CHANGES THE LDC'S ARE STRIVING FOR SHOULD BE PRESENTED.

B. AN ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT OF THE VALIDITY OF THOSE CHANGES IN OBJECTIVE TERMS (I.E., "DO THE LDC'S HAVE A POINT--MORALLY AND PRACTICALLY") SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN. THE APPENDIX ALREADY GOES A LONG WAY TOWARD PROVIDING THIS ANALYSIS.

C. US INTERESTS IN THIS AREA SHOULD BE SET FORTH, PROBABLY THE MOST DIFFICULT TASK OF THE STUDY.

D. BASED ON THE FOREGOING, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST WHICH THE USG SHOULD STRESS IN ITS SHORT RUN RELATIONS WITH THE LDC'S WHILE FURTHER STUDY IS DEVOTED TO THE DETERMINATION OF WHAT THE US SHOULD ATTEMPT OVER THE LONGER RUN TO NARROW THE GAP BETWEEN DC AND LDC INTERESTS.

4. THE PRIMARY ADVANTAGE OF THIS PROCEDURE IS THE INTEGRATION OF SUBSTANCE WITH STRATEGY AND TACTICS; THIS SHOULD RESULT IN A MORE VIABLE US POLICY. THE CURRENT APPROACH - STRESSING STRATEGY AND TACTICS BEFORE ESTABLISHING SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS - PUTS THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE AT THE EXPENSE OF A POSITIVE US POSTURE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE APPROACHES SPECIFIED ARE ESSENTIALLY (AND UNNECESSARILY) DEFENSIVE AND MEAN-SPIRITED (I.E., CO-OPTION, DIVIDE AND CONQUER) OR GRUDGING AND RELUCTANT. FROM THE PAPER IT APPEARS THAT THE GREATEST DRAWBACK TO THE SUGGESTED PROCEDURE IS THE DIFFICULTY OF DEVELOPING A POLICY CONSENSUS IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN THE US. RECOGNIZING THAT THIS MAY BE TRUE, AN EFFORT TO DEVELOP A NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON THESE ISSUES MUST NEVERTHELESS BE MADE IF THE US HOPES TO FORMULATE, SUSTAIN AND ADVANCE A VIABLE POLICY, LET ALONE RETAIN ITS REPUTATION AS A PROGRESSIVE, ENLIGHTENED POWER IN THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

5. FINALLY SOME SMALL POINTS:

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A. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN REDISTRIBUTION OF EXISTING GLOBAL WEALTH AND DIFFERENT DISTRIBUTION (MORE IN FAVOR OF LDC'S) OF ADDITIONAL GLOBAL WEALTH TO BE PRODUCED IN THE FUTURE IS INSUFFICIENTLY DELINEATED AND DESCRIBED. ARE THERE ESTIMATES OF THE FORMER AVAILABLE OR ARE WE GOING ONLY ON SOME TYPE OF PROJECTION OF THE OPEC EXPERIENCE?

B. MORE ASSESSMENT OF LDC POSITIONS REGARDING RESTRUCTURING THE

UN AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL AS THE CHIEF ELEMENTS OF THEIR "POLITICAL PLATFORM" WOULD BE USEFUL.

C. THE US MAY BE EXAGGERATING THE UNHAPPINESS OF THE OIL-LESS LDC'S WITH THE OIL RICH LDC'S. OPEC'S RECORD, WHEN MEASURED AS A PERCENT OF THEIR GNP, IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO THE LDC'S IS PRETTY GOOD AND GETTING BETTER. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PAPER OVERSTES THE CLOSENESS OF ARAB-AFRICAN RELATIONS.

D. POSSIBLY A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF US PROPOSED "REFORMS" AND THEIR VIRTUES WOULD BE HELPFUL.

E. A FULLER ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF SO-CALLED "MARKET FORCES"-BAD AS WELL AS GOOD-WOULD ADD BALANCE TO THE PAPER.

F. THE US SHOULD EXERCISE GREAT CARE IN ASSIGNING ADDITIONAL DUTIES TO THE WORLD BANK AND OTHER MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHICH INVOLVE KNOTTY PROBLEMS THE US HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO COPE WITH SATISFACTORILY ITSELF.

6. LEST THE FOREGOING APPEAR TO CAST DOUBT ON THE USEFULNESS OF THIS STUDY, LET ME REITERATE MY HOPE THAT OUR COMMENTS FROM THE FIELD MAY CONTRIBUTE TO STRENGTHENING AN ALREADY LAUDABLE ACHIEVEMENT.  
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